

Yoga from the *Yoginīs*' point of view*

Olga Serbaeva*

University of Zurich

*Corresponding author: olga.serbaeva@aoi.uzh.ch

Abstract: The aim of this article is to trace and to analyse the co-occurrence of the terms yoga and yoginī in the selected corpus of yogic and tantric texts (Vidyāpīṭha). The findings demonstrate that these terms start to appear together only from a precise point in time and in the sources that belong to or were influenced by a particular tantric tradition, namely, the Śakti-tantras belonging to the Vidyāpīṭha (classification of A. Sanderson), and it is within this part of the corpus that the yoginīs (be them women or supernatural beings) are said to perform a very particular kind of yoga, that breaks the current definitions of yoga as being voluntary and conscious practice.

The expressions 'a *yoginī* practicing yoga' or 'yoginīs related to yoga' seem to be self-evident and redundant when referred to dictionary definitions, including that of Monier-Williams, which gives *yoginī* as a derivation from *yoga* and a feminine form of *yogin*.¹ However, the link of *yoginī* and *yoga* is not in fact obvious at all. We encounter these two terms in a number of texts and they have nothing to do with each other in most of them.²

One of the results of my Ph. D. thesis (2006) was the establishment of the typology of meanings of the term *yoginī* and its synonyms in *purāṇic* and *tantric* medieval Śaiva texts. This typology proves that the terms *yoga* and *yoginī* cannot be easily connected.

For example, the MBh is full of *yogins* and *yoga*; however, the only occurrence of the term *yoginī* as such indicates in this text a sort of astronomic junction.³ In older Śaiva *purāṇas*, there are two types of *yoginīs*: the non-Śaiva and the Śaiva.⁴ The first type, appearing in the earlier *purāṇas* representing *brahmanic* tradition, is linked to a very particular kind of 'yoga', that of the creation of the universe and of the various species that populate it. It has nothing to do with a set of particular physical and mental exercises and, even if some practices of this sort appear in the *purāṇic* descriptions of the non-Śaiva *yoginīs* in question, they are called *tapas* and not *yoga*.⁵ The occurrences of the term *yoginī* used to qualify Satī-Pārvatī constitute a bridge between the Śaiva and the non-Śaiva types of *yoginīs*. The earlier *purāṇic* texts also prefer to use the term *tapas* and not *yoga* to talk about her exploits. The goddess receives the title of *yoginī* in the *purāṇas* not because of

her particular qualities achieved through *yogic* practices, but mostly because she is the wife of Śiva who is a great *yogin*.⁶

The other type of the *yoginīs*, the Śaiva ones, desired or feared, can be found in both *purāṇic* and *tantric* texts, as well as in lay medieval Indian literature. These Śaiva *yoginīs* can assume the following four aspects: they can be: (i) real women, sometimes engaged in *tantric* practice, (ii) non-human beings or possessing spirits of ambiguous and mostly harmful nature, manifesting themselves to the practitioners after some emotionally powerful and often transgressive practice, these also appear in *purāṇic* stories where they are helping the gods to destroy the demons. Following the same logic, they are invoked by initiated Śaivas in order to magically destroy the enemies of kings, (iii) *Yoginīs* are worshipped in their symbolic forms in *maṇḍalas* as surrounding the absolute deity; they can also symbolise the centres of the body, the transitions between these centres and the accompanying states of consciousness; they embody *mantras*, which their names serve to codify and to decode, and they often appear as *mantras* or *vidyās* themselves, (iv) finally, a *yoginī* is a name and a quality of the absolute, representing the highest state of consciousness in the radical traditions of the initiated Śāktas such as Trika and Kālikula.

This net of overlapping forms and functions of *yoginīs* incites us to analyse how these meanings can be related to *yoga* and what this *yoga*, or, rather, these *yogas* might be. In order to clarify the relation between the terms *yoga* and *yoginī*, I shall now address the *yogic* texts. The *yoginīs* (along with feminine figures in general) are absent from the YS, the text that has become a root one in discussion of what *yoga* is. Moreover, I have not come across a single description of a woman who practices 'classical' *yoga* in early texts, and who would be termed a *yoginī* for this reason. However, the *siddhis* that can be gained with the help of the practices described by the YS are the same as those *yoginīs* possess in *tantric* texts.⁷

In later texts on *yoga*, such as the HYP, the terms *yoga*, *yogin* and *yoginīs* appear together. In the HYP the result of practice is, in fact, comparable to the state of *yoginīs*.⁸ These *yoginīs*, whose state the successful practitioner achieves, together with the capacity to perform creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, can come from one source only: the early texts of Trika and/or of Kālikula. We also find *yoginīs* in the passage dealing with sexual practices and the war of fluids à la David White, (which clearly suppose the participation of real women), namely *vajrolī*, *sahajolī* and *amarolī*.⁹ HYP defines *yoginī* in terms of the mastery of physical and subtle bodies.¹⁰ These references have greatly influenced the European vision of what is called *tantric yoga*. However, Śaiva *tantric* influence in these passages is not reflected in secondary literature.

Khecari-mudrā and *khecari-siddhi* are mentioned in GherS.¹¹ The text acknowledges the same practices as HYP, but does not mention any *yoginīs*. The common feature between these *yogic* texts is the fact that they refer to *tantras* and to Mīnanath.¹² The most important aspect of this is the fact that the state of or capacities of *khecari*, or a sky-going *yoginī* constitutes one of the results of the

yogic practice. This cannot be reduced only to grammatical or metrical reasons, because the *yogic* texts could have easily expressed the same meaning without referring to *khecari*, as was done by YS. This sort of emphasis of the feminine is exceptional in *yogic* texts, whereas it is quite common in the antinomian Śaiva *tantric* practices, which we shall address further. This allows us to conclude that the terms *yoga* and *yoginī* do not appear together in the *yogic* texts before the advent of traces of *tantric* influence of a very particular kind. Thus, the terms *yoga* and *yoginī* were probably not originally connected. We also have synonyms for *yoginī* such as *ḍākinī*, *śākinī* and others, which cannot be derived from *yoga*, and the first occurrences of these terms do not belong to the context of *yoga*, but lead us rather to the cremation ground, where these beings are said to devour human bodies.¹³

In order to discover what kind of tradition could have influenced the later *yogic* texts, we have to address the Śaiva and the Śākta texts of the initiated. If we look at *yoginī*-related practices from a Śaiva perspective, taking Śaivism as a unified system as proposed by Sanderson (1990), that is including Śāktas, we shall find *yoginīs* with certainty only where we enter the territory of the Bhairavaśāstra.¹⁴ Within Bhairavaśāstra an important distinction between the Mantrapīṭha (or the seat of *mantras*, which in many respects also means a male god-oriented tradition) and the Vidyāpīṭha (or the seat of invocations rather related to the goddesses) should be made. The first is represented by the text and the cult related to Svachchandabhairava. SV provides us with a few references concerning *yoginīs*; the list of dreams confirming that a disciple is apt to receive the initiation mentions among the auspicious ones a vision of *vīras* and *vīreśīs*, selling human flesh, obtaining a great *paśu* (i.e. human as sacrificial victim), a vision of *māṭṛs* and *bhairavas*, etc.¹⁵ These *vīreśīs* seem to be real women, participating in the practice along with *vīras*, literally 'heroes'. The practices of these *vīras* are described in chapter 2, and they include the usage of a rosary made of *mahāśaṅkha*, which is a standard name in *tantras* for human (skull)-bones, worship eight cremation grounds outside a *maṇḍala*, and other transgressive elements. The practice of *vīras* promises the opportunity to play with women as a reward.¹⁶ This should be read as a confirmation of the growing importance of women in this practice, although they are not called *yoginīs* in this passage. In the description of the arrangement of the worlds in chapter 10 we find two references to *yoginīs*. In the first case they surround a particular form of Rudra called Hāṭaka, who governs one of the underworlds.¹⁷ Alexis Sanderson has kindly provided an important citation that identifies a doctrine bearing the name of the mentioned Rudra and the Kula-stream.¹⁸

In the second reference of SV 10, it is the goddess who is worshipped by *yoginīs* and others.¹⁹ However, SV does not invoke *yoginīs* yet. Even in a detailed list of magic women attracted by practice in 2.283f we find no *yoginīs*. Among the doctrines known to SV we should mention Pāśupata, Kāpālika and other Atimārgic traditions such as Vaimalas, Mausulas and Kārukas. SV states that these doctrines

can take their followers only to a certain state within the *tattva* ladder described in chapter 11, whereas the Mantramārga, expounded here by SV itself, promises the highest state.²⁰ Among the listed doctrines, only the Kāpālikas might be related to *yoginīs*.

The very last reference to *yoginī*, and the most important one, occurs in chapter 15. Logically, chapter 12 (explaining the *tattvas* and *siddhis*) should be the concluding chapter of the whole text. However, the text has 15 chapters in total, and it was known to Kṣemarāja in this form. The last chapters deal with the following subjects: chapter 13 deals with black magic and is very close in style to the *kāpālika yoga*, explained in SV 6 and which has a close parallel in TS 23. Chapter 14 explains various *mudrās*. These *mudrās* are out of context, because they are not used by the human practitioner anywhere else in the text.²¹ Chapter 15 gives a secret code for the words denoting components of the human body and for different kinds of women involved in what are apparently sexual practices (v. 1-23). This chapter also explains *chommas* or secret non-verbal signs to be shown to each other by the initiates (24-32a). We have a number of passages dealing with *chommas* in BY 53, YSP, TS, but the short list of SV does not demonstrate any clear connection with these texts. The last passage of SV alludes to *melaka* or the practice of union and to the *yoginīs* that bestow boon in this context.²² Most important is the fact that chapter 15 suggests interactions with the *yoginīs* are part of the practice, and the terms *yoginī* and *yoga* occur in the same passage. These three last chapters are closer in their style to the Vidyāpīṭha than to the Mantrapīṭha and there are two ways to interpret their presence in the text. The first one, it is being an interpolation. As for the second, it is possible to suggest that the whole text can be read at two levels: for the usual worshippers (purer and less radical) and for the *vīras*, who would need a special language to hide from public their transgressive practices. These practitioners would have access to oral tradition as well, and the last 3 chapters probably reflect that.

Among the practices that are traditionally associated with the 'classical' variant of *yoga*, we find some references in SV to breath-exercises and a developed structure of the subtle body, including various channels and knots, and *yoga* related to sounds.²³ And yet it is clear, that the practice linking *yoga* and *yoginī* cannot originally come from the SV itself.

Another current within Mantramārga, called Vidyāpīṭha, should be understood as a set of different traditions, among which three can be distinguished. All of them, the cult of Tumburu-bhairava cult, which I leave aside,²⁴ the Yāmalaś and the Śakti-tantras incorporate *yoginīs*. In these texts, from the fifth to sixth centuries on, the *yoginīs* as well as *ḍākinīs* and *śākinīs*, are linked to *yoga*. The earliest text that has come down to us on this subject is BY.²⁵ This text deals with the classification of *yoginīs* in its ancient variety, lists the secret signs serving as a means of communication between the *sādhakas* and the *yoginīs*, explains the procedures of worship and the arrangements of 24 *yoginīs*. *Yoginīs* in BY seem to be of two types: (i) those who, along with mothers receive the worship: these should be

considered rather to be deities or symbols, and (ii) those who are in human form and who should be found, recognised, addressed with a special symbolic language. The post-initiation practice described in BY allows us to suggest that the third ontological position of *yoginīs* in this text is that of a male *sādhaka* engaged in a very special practice which requires clothing and behaviour similar to that of *yoginīs*.²⁶ BY is one of the texts that reflects what is called Kula, or the Clan [of the *yoginīs*] tradition, and it influenced numerous later texts. BY has almost equal number of references to the *yoginīs*, as well as to *yoga*. But what sort of *yoga*? The ‘classical’ *yoga* is virtually absent in the checked chapters. *Yoga* here seems to be a practice of mantras, the encounters with human *yoginīs* on special dates and the invocation of wild and dangerous deities with transgressive substances, such as human flesh and blood: the practitioner goes about with a skull, puts on women’s clothing, is associated with inauspicious substances, places, and sacrifices.

Within Śakti-tantras, the third group within Vidyāpīṭha, the visible subgroups are the texts of Trika (SYM, TS, MVT) and of Kālikula including Krama (JY including YSP, KSb, KS). In both of these subdivisions the feminine is predominant and in some cases only goddesses are worshiped. In these texts, we find complicated many-layer arrangements of the feminine and masculine deities in Trika, a system of twelve Kālīs who are also conceptualised as *yoginīs* in Krama, as well as the first lists of the 64 *yoginīs*. The *yoginīs* have a full set of criss-crossing and overlapping forms and functions: a real woman, who had been initiated and played the role of partner in sexual practices;²⁷ a being or a spirit invoked by mantras and transgressive practices; a mantra itself; a representation of the body-centres and of the energy; and a goddess ‘embodying’ a particular geographical point, etc. TS and YSP texts propose highly transgressive practices including the offering and consumption of wine, meat, and products of the body, manipulations with dead bodies and even human sacrifices.

Now I propose to look at different *yogas* from within the Śakti-tantra division. In Trika we shall briefly look at SYM, TS, and MVT. SYM follows the tradition of the Yāmalaś and in the majority of passages the practices described have little to do with ‘classical *yoga*’, while *yoginīs* are abundant. The practices related to these *yoginīs* include mastery of the mantras, the offering and consumption of impure or forbidden substances including human flesh, the offering of one’s own blood at night in a cremation ground, visualisations, the construction of *maṇḍalas*, etc. However, the *āsanas* and other ‘classical’ elements of Patañjali’s YS do not play any important role. Even *yoga* as such does not seem to constitute an important category in SYM, and it appears mostly as a part of the noun *yogeśvarī*, i.e. Queen of *yoga*.

Later TS, calling SYM its ‘root’-text, combines *yoginī*-related practices and the later tendencies of the development of ‘classical’ *yoga*, such as the elaborated system of *cakras* and channels in the body. TS 1.136 mentions practices such as *recaka*, *pūraka*, and *kumbhaka*; terms such as *yoga* and *yogin* have much more

importance when compared to SYM. Chapter 2 is an explanation of the links of letters and deities, which is called *yoga* by Bhairava in 2.139. It means a correct combination of short and long syllables, respectively *rudras* and *yoginīs* as explained in 5.12. The union of numerous *yogas* in this text has the following consequences: objects previously considered as 'real' and as being outside the body of the worshipped are now internalised and we find that places of worship now belong to the subtle body in 15.36f. *Yoga* of the channels is explained in chapter 24. This chapter provides the only reference to *yogāsana*,²⁸ and to a practice that enables a person not only to leave their own body but also to enter the bodies of others.²⁹ A simple form of the *kuṇḍalinī*-system can be found in chapters 25 and 27. Of most importance, however, is chapter 16, which provides unique information about the interrelations of *yoga* and *yoginīs*, and gives a typology of the practices of *yoginīs* (to be discussed further). But the 'classical' *yoga* is only one of many *yogas* known to this text. The goddess asks Bhairava to explain the 'root'-*yoga* in 23.2 to her, and his reply actually consist in describing of *kāpālīka*-like magic practices. However, both this statement and an earlier variant of these magic formulas are borrowed from SV 13. Generally it looks highly likely that at least two *yogas*, the *yoginī*-related one and the updated 'classical' one, came together in TS.

This tendency is even more pronounced in MVT.³⁰ The following aspects of these *yogas* are the most pertinent for my analysis: (i) the acceptance or rejection of *brahmanic* values, (ii) the time needed to achieve the highest state, (iii) the description of the highest state (*samādhi*), and (iv) the active/passive state of the practitioner. First of all, in MVT we find the references to the eight-limbed *yoga*, or the 'classical' *yoga* associated with the work of Patañjali. This purity-oriented *yoga* chooses to expunge all impurity and, in what became a classical reading of YS, postulates control over the processes of the body and the consciousness. *Samādhi*³¹ in this *yoga* would signify a cessation of mental operations. This *yoga* is oriented towards a liberation that can be achieved only after a long period of time (unspecified in the text). We also find references to the six-limbed *yoga*, traditionally linked to the philosophy of Siddhānta. This *yoga* is theistic and insists upon *tarka*, logic. The uppermost state in this *yoga* is also called *samādhi*. Here, however, the meaning is different: besides a more 'classical' reading, it can even represent a sort of trance, according to the later commentaries cited by Vasudeva.³² It continues to be a purity-oriented *yoga*, in which the result is achieved by initiation and the rituals that follow it. As a rule, complete liberation can be achieved only after death.

But the *yoga* related to *yoginīs* is also present in this text (not, unfortunately, a subject investigated in Vasudeva's study), and it is an altogether different thing. Basically, it is a set of transgressive practices, understood as the conscious abolishment of the rules of *brahmanic* society. This *yoga* constitutes an extremely rapid method: the time of achievement is counted in months. This rapidity has an impact upon all its aspects: the practitioner is not the one who tries, of his own

volition, to stop mental processes; rather he is passive, he is just a creature suddenly grasped by *yoginīs*. The highest state, *samādhi*, which from a Śaiva point of view might be seen as the state of equality/unity with Śiva, is here a state of possession/pervasion by the power of Śiva.³³ However, what most strikingly differentiates this *yoga* from all the other approaches is neither this rapidity, nor its transgressive rituals, but rather the extremely important role of the *yoginīs* in its practice. Even if MVT has a tendency to internalise the *yoginīs*, we still find the references to the practitioner becoming like *yoginī* (8.1, 19.29) and the leader of their *cakra* (11.14), being able to fly with them (22.26), obtaining the knowledge of *yoginīs* (15.28), becoming a joy of their family (17.23), and becoming a part of it (19.25f). The union or *melaka* with them is an important part of its practice, bringing *siddhis* (19.21, 22.32); the description of a ritual of attraction of *yoginīs* with one's own blood is also provided (10.27f).

The Kālikula division of Vidyāpīṭha, especially in its Krama variety, preserves the antinomian BY-like representations of *yoginīs*. This is particularly prominent in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, a text compiled in Kashmir around the tenth century, but preserving much more archaic elements, possibly coming back to the Kāpālika tradition.³⁴

For the Vidyāpīṭha texts in general, the role of *yoginīs* in its practices can be summarised as follows:

(1) With regard to the source of its doctrine, this comes from the mouth of *yoginī*; the doctrine is propounded by *yoginīs*, who also serve as the guarantors of its correct transmission and preservation.³⁵

(2) At the institutional level, *yoginīs* give permission for the bestowing and receiving of initiation by the granting of signs in dreams. They themselves initiate people; *yoginīs* guard the respect of secrets and control post-initiation practices; and they also attest to the levels of the practice.³⁶ At the opposite poles of the scale of various practitioners, we find 'a sacrificial victim of *yoginīs*' and 'the beloved of *yoginīs*'³⁷ or, even better, 'the son of *yoginīs*'.³⁸ The first state is a punishment for non-performance of rituals or for the disclosure of secrets, while named rewards stimulate the initiated one to perform practices correctly.

(3) At the ritual level, forbidden and sacred substances, plants, animals, sounds, trees and objects of worship, places and people, are all qualified in their relation to *yoginīs* as such; meetings with *yoginīs* is the essence of ritual practice. No practice is possible without *mantras*, and the most powerful *mantras* are those transmitted by *yoginīs* or related to them (i.e. calling them). The main goddess cannot be reached, unless the *yoginīs* take practitioner to her. In short, the identification (external as well as internal) of the male practitioner with the *yoginī* is a necessary condition of the praxis.³⁹

(4) With respect to the representation of the micro- and macrocosm, the *yoginīs* constitute the manifested universe. They also encode the various states of consciousness. All transitions and transformations go through them and a net of power-places related to *yoginīs* covers the entire territory of India. *Yoginīs* pervade

the subtle body of the practitioner and they are *mantras* that permit the linking together of the micro- and macrocosmic levels.⁴⁰

(5) As for the result of practice, the supernatural capacities that a male *sādhaka* is supposed to obtain are exactly those that *yoginīs* have. The practitioner loses his own identity and flies up with the *yoginīs* into the sky, becoming, in fact, like a *yoginī*. The highest level he can achieve is that of the non-dual cosmic consciousness, reabsorbing all: it is nothing but Goddess, also qualified as *yoginī*.⁴¹

Although as represented in the tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha, women enjoy very high respect, while for a man to achieve something is exceptional, we should not take this as a sign of equality between women and *yoginīs*.⁴² We shall now concentrate our attention only upon those aspects that are important for the understanding of what *yoga* is when related to *yoginīs* with the help of two examples from TS 16 and NT 20.

The classification of *yoginīs* in TS 16⁴³ opposes the highest *yoginīs*, who appear to be already perfect⁴⁴ and therefore do not practice anything, and the lower ones, characterised by the fact that they 'obtain' *yoga*. Their practices can hardly be called *yoga* if one has YS in mind. What is more, it is clearly opposed to *japa*, *homa*, and *vrata* (v. 163), which seem to refer here to a normal religious practice. *Yoginīs*, attracting by ruse, always drink vital breath (*prāṇā*) or blood, and in order to change their form some of them kill a *paśu* or carry men away. Some have the ability to read the minds of others; others can move as they wish by the power of their *mantra* or assume multiple forms; others know the past, the present and the future and possess the eight qualities (those of YS). TS gives an important résumé, listing the four means by which these *yoginīs* can achieve higher status: by *yoga*, by *tapas*, by vision of (the deity) of their *mantra*, and by sacrificing a living being who has been born a number of times for this purpose.⁴⁵ The *tapas* does not mean anything different from the *brahmanic* understanding of it. *Yoga* in this context might refer to the combination of 'classical' *yoga* with visualisations and *kuṇḍalinī*-like practices. The vision of the deity of one's own *mantra* is the way to express the successful practice of *mantra*, i.e. *mantrasiddhi*, a control over the deity. The last practice refers to finding, sacrificing (and eating) a living being who has particular body-signs and is born between one and seven times especially for this purpose. The descriptions of such practice pervade multiple tantric texts can even be found in RT. Baka, the king of Kashmir, was sacrificed by a *yoginī* Bhaṭṭā, who flew up in the sky as soon as she performed it.⁴⁶ In TS 7, there is a practice—also a human sacrifice—to be performed by a *sādhaka* in order to gain the power of flight.⁴⁷

Lower *yoginīs*, however, in order to obtain the basic quality, which is the ability to change form, should, besides attracting blood (v. 181-214), also perform a set of colourful practices, such as urinating in a particular manner, or putting human bones in the kitchen pot of another person. These strange practices do not seem to have directly transformative potential, but they serve to attract a victim whose blood/vital energy or sacrifice provides new supernatural capacities for a *yoginī*.

TS 16 thus proposes the perspective of at least two meanings of the term *yoga*. In fact, all practices described can be united by the term *yoga*, and this, in a larger sense, would signify a method; however, we also have references to *yoga*'s being only one of many possible means for the *yoginīs* to achieve a higher status. The *sādhakas* seem to achieve similar results by performing exactly the same actions as *yoginīs*, mirroring their practice.

We do not find in the tantras any moral judgement of these actions of *yoginīs*, except in NT 20.⁴⁸ The goddess, concerned about the state of humans, asks Śiva how it is possible that these creatures (*yoginīs* and others) are so cruel, why they drain the *prāṇā* of living creatures and why they kill. The Lord replies that when they drain the energy or kill *paśus*, they follow the teaching of Śiva. In fact, they are free from anger and desire to kill, and by killing *paśus* they perform *yāga* to the god of gods. They are the protectors of the teaching of the great Bhairava. Moreover, the *paśus* were created only for this purpose—to be used in the ritual (*yāga*) of the lord (*pati*).⁴⁹ The term *upayukta* rather than 'killing' is underlined by Śiva. This term is a derivation of *upa* + *yuj*, and thus can be related to *yoga*. Here the *yoga* would be intended for the *paśus*, who, once killed, are linked to the great god and thus liberated, this being considered as grace and not violence.⁵⁰ It is exactly this that is understood under the term *yoga* in NT.

The text represents *yoga* as being of three kinds: supreme, subtle, and physical, all three types here being related to *yoginīs*.⁵¹ The highest *yoga* (v. 11-21), the closest to the *samādhi* of a more 'classical' vision, would be a direct merging with the absolute. The action of the highest *yoginīs* towards *paśu* is compared to the process of Śaiva initiation, namely, the immediate destruction of impurities.⁵² The separation from the body is taken to be a liberating process here and not killing.⁵³ As for the second type of *yoga*, *sūkṣma* (v. 22-37), it is described in terms of the attraction of a victim and the extraction of his vital essences.⁵⁴ NT, above all in the explanation of Kṣemarāja, represents the process as possession. It is also close to the Śaiva initiation, where the principle of consciousness of the *guru* enters the body of the disciple and, being joined with his principle of consciousness, drives it up along the central channel. Both, possession by *yoginīs* and the process of initiation, are described by the same term, *āveśa*.⁵⁵ Here the object of action is rather the vital energy of the person.⁵⁶

The third type, *sthūla yoga*, is related to the physical body, and the main concern here is to be protected from the physical attacks of malevolent creatures, especially from *ḍākinīs/sākinīs* and people who use black magic.⁵⁷ Again, none of these types of *yoginī*-related *yogas* (also practiced by the initiated, v. 41f) can be linked to something known from more 'classical' *yogic* texts.

However, this *yoga* has some important Śaiva predecessors. On the basis of comparative analysis of the tantric and non-tantric texts that mention Śaiva *yoginīs*, I came to the conclusion that the Śaiva *yoginīs*, linked to a particular way of achieving *siddhis* and liberation, could appear only when the following closely related conditions were reunited: (i) when a rapid and effective religious

practice had been established, the accent being placed on achieving a high state by performing ritual acts within one life (visible already in the Pāśupata tradition), (ii) when a practice predominantly orientated to this world had been formulated: obtaining power over all women, becoming a king, destroying all enemies, flight, etc., (iii) when progress in Śaiva practice had been connected to a set of what, from a *brahmanic* point of view, were highly transgressive rituals, (iv) when all this had been connected by an imagery of the Śaivas in which Śiva is represented as an ambiguous figure surrounded by wild, crazy, shouting, intoxicated *gaṇas*, who soon become *yoginīs*.⁵⁸

The Pāśupata tradition, which does not itself mention any *yoginī*, influenced later *yoginī*-related currents in a number of details, that is, in the description of *siddhis*, in the time taken for the achievement of their signs, in the logic of the rapid progress mentioned above, and even in the terms used.⁵⁹ A set of strange practices that include the necessity to complicate one's own life in a radical way by pretending to be crazy or criminal is also known to the Lākulas.⁶⁰ However, in most cases it is in the tradition of the Kāpālikas, with its antinomian practices, that scholars have tried to find the sources of the practices related to *yoginīs*.⁶¹ The question of whether the Kāpālikas could have been the 'fathers' of the *yoginīs* deserves special attention.

Indeed, in medieval Indian literature we do find the texts that place the Kāpālikas together with the practice of magic containing the most antinomian elements, such as human sacrifices. This is the case in Bhavabhūti's *MMadh*, DKC of Daṇḍin, *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva, etc.⁶² The Kāpālikas, indeed influenced the rituals of the later *tantric* traditions. But it is hard to separate their ideas in texts such as BY and JY from the later Mantramārgic development. Moreover, it is not until the seventh century drama of Bhavabhūti, *Mālatīmādhava*, that we have a clearly expressed verbal link between *yoginīs* and Kāpālika practices.⁶³ From the point of view expressed in SV and TS, referring to *kāpālika-yoga*, these people practiced some sort of black magic, killing or bringing under control others through the manipulation of herbs, blood, poison and similar substances but, even in the texts of the Vidyāpīṭha, they are not related to the *yoginīs* in explicit way.

This seems to be contradictory and I propose the following possibilities to explain the situation: (i) the practitioners of Vidyāpīṭha itself were seen as Kāpālikas by outsiders as this seems to be the case with Aghoraḥaṇṭā and Kāpālakuṇḍalī, called Kāpālikas by Bhavabhūti, though these look more like the practitioners of Mantramārga than those of the Atimārga (where the Kāpālikas originally belonged), (ii) we have to consider the possibility of multiple traditions within what was called Kāpālika practice and reconsider the different terms that refer to it, namely Somasiddhāntins, Kāpālikas, Mahāvratins, Mahāpāśupatas, etc. It is possible that these terms were not synonymous. It was perhaps one of these currents that introduced the *yoginīs*. The present state of sources, however, does not allow us to either prove or disprove it.

Even if the Kāpālikas served as a screen on which the fears and desires of society were projected, thus rendering their descriptions contradictory, we can state that a few aspects of their practice distinguish them from the earlier Pāśupatas: the rapidity with which visible results are achieved and the violence that is the necessary price to gain a quick response from their gods (as represented by most of the early medieval texts). They also seem to favour trance and altered states of consciousness rather than rational control in their practices. And this distinction is a very important one, as neither *yoginīs* nor *siddhis* appear to humans unless these are posted close to the door of death or insanity. In both the texts of the Vidyāpīṭha and in *purāṇas*, *yoginīs* appear only when a person is ready to commit suicide, or when one is dreaming, hallucinating, or has just performed a practice of the kind that abolishes the separation between a normal and an 'altered' state.⁶⁴

To conclude, the *yoga* related to the *yoginīs* leads us to a very particular tradition, that of Vidyāpīṭha with its Kāpālika roots, and this link can by no way be transferred to all *yogic* currents. It invites us to reconsider what *yoga* in general actually is. A number of dictionaries defining 'classical' *yoga* underline the voluntary and conscious character of *yogic* practice, 'it is an active practice, never passive', writes Wood for example.⁶⁵ However, what we perceive in the texts of the Vidyāpīṭha is the extremely important role of *yoginīs* in different levels of practice, the passivity of the practitioner, and the far-reaching consequences of these. *Yoga* related to *yoginīs* is not to be seen from the point of view of the practitioner, but from the point of view of *yoginīs*, who, according to NT, by means this *yoga* link the *paśus* to the absolute, while the traditional definition of *yoga* presupposes some kind of voluntary practices, there is nothing of that kind in a creature suddenly possessed by a *yoginī*. Even though in such texts as TS, SYM, YSP we encounter the descriptions of rituals supposed to attract *yoginīs*, as soon as they do appear, nothing more is said, and the practitioner seems to find himself totally subject to their will. This *yoga* should also be understood as a practice that works with what is called 'altered states of consciousness', especially in relation to visionary *yoga* and possession. Non-dual tendencies, links between the levels of the universe, parts of body and states of consciousness, acting as what one is not, as well as the extreme rapidity of achievement, are the main features of this *yoginī*-related *yoga*.

As for the derivation of the term from *yoga*, *yoginī* related to *yoga*, understood as a method of obtaining magical powers, would not be the only term used for the phenomenon, for we have also *ḍākinī* and *śākinī* (and about 40 others). These creatures were not always linked to *yoga*, and it is probable that the *yoginī*-related form of *yoga* appeared precisely when these beings were re-conceptualised and classified under one term, that of *yoginī*, in its new, Śaiva meaning. This change seems to have occurred at the time when the aims of *yogic* practice shifted from liberation to the seeking of superpowers and from Atimārga to Mantramārga. This ground is yet to be explored.

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- KSb *Kramasadbhāva*, Dyczkowski, M.S.G. (ed.) 2004. E-text: <http://www.muktabodha.org/>
- KT *Kulārṇava Tantra*, Ram Kumar Rai (tr.) Varanasi: Pracya Prakashan, 1983.
- GherS *The Gheranda-Saṃhitā*. New Delhi: Oriental Book Reprint Corp., 1975.
- JY *Jayadrathayāmala*. MS: ṣaṭka 1: NAK 5-4650, NGMPP B122/7. ṣaṭka 3: NAK 5/1975, NGMPP A152/9.
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- DPŚ *Devīpāñcāśatika/Kālikulapañcāśatika 5*. Sanderson, A.G.J.S. (ed.) 2003. (Unpub. variant). MSS: Kathmandu, Kaisar Library, MS 524, NGMPP C49/3, palm-leaf, early East-Indian script, dated between 1230 and 1242.
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- NG *Niśvāsaguhya, a part of Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*. MSS: NAK 1-277, *śaivatantra* 103, NGMPP A41/4 (*Niśvāsamukha* ff.1v-18v6, *Niśvāsamūla* ff.18v6-23v1, *Niśvāsottara* ff.23v1-29r5, *Niśvāsanaya* ff.29r5-42r5, *Niśvāsaguhya* ff.42r5-114v.)
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Notes

- * This article was originally presented at the World Sanskrit Conference, Edinburgh, 2006. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof Alexis Sanderson for the unpublished *tantric* texts, which he so generously placed at my disposal and for his readiness to answer my never ending questions.
- 1 In the present article I leave aside the occurrences that can be both masculine and feminine, such as *yogibhiḥ*, and I shall concentrate upon the explicitly feminine cases.
- 2 Judit Törzsök (1999, p. iii), who edited and translated the shorter version of SYM, was the first person to address the question.
- 3 MBh 01.060.015e. We find this use of the term further in astronomy texts, see Dehejia and White. The link between *yoginīs* and time can also be seen in SYM 21 and TS 24.
- 4 For the probable dates of the *purāṇic* passages mentioning these *yoginīs*, see Serbaeva (2009).
- 5 See Serbaeva (2006a, ch. 2), for the details on non-Śaiva *yoginīs*.
- 6 For the representation of the goddess as *yoginī* see Serbaeva (2006a, ch. 2).
- 7 YS mentions knowledge of the universe and of the body (3.26f), the vision of the 'perfected' (3.32), the mystic intuition (3.33), the particular abilities of the sense-organs (3.36), the ability to fly (3.42), to enter the bodies of others (3.38), to be invisible (3.21), to read the mind (3.19), to leave the body (3.39), and the classical list of eight *siddhis*, beginning with *ānima* (3.45). The list of tantric *siddhis* with their analysis and the translation of the relevant passages shall be presented in my habilitation (work in progress).
- 8 HYP 2.55ab: *yoginīcakrasaṃmānyaḥ sṛṣṭisaṃhārakārakaḥ* /. 'He will be similar to the circle of *yoginī* [as for the powers, i.e.] he will be able to perform the creation and the destruction of the univers.' The ability to perform the creation and destruction of the world belongs to *yoginīs* in TS 16.59.
- 9 HYP 3.83–87, HYP 3.96b. It is worth mentioning that the terms *vajrolī* and others do not occur in the other tantric sources selected for this article.
- 10 HYP 3.102: *raṁśed ākuṇḍanād ūrdhvaṃ yā rajaḥ sā hi yoginī / atītānāgataṃ vetti khecarī ca bhaved dhruvam* //. 'The *yoginī* is the one who protects the "rajas" by bending [it]

- upwards. She knows the past and the future, and suddenly becomes a sky-goer.' This line, absent in the edition of Sinh, can be found in the Adyar edition.
- 11 GherS 1.51 *sādhanaṁ netikarmāpi khecarīsiddhim āpnuyāt*, and 3.1; 3.26; 7.5; 7.9.
- 12 GherS 2.4, 23, HYP 1.4-5, 20, 28. *Alias* Matsyendranātha, the mythic 'founder' of the Yoginī-kaula, see Karambelkar (1955).
- 13 Both in MārKP 8.107-108 and in DKC 6, this term denotes a creature living in cremation grounds and feeding upon human flesh. It has no relation to yoga in these texts whatsoever.
- 14 The question if the Kāpālikas belonging to the Atimārga invoked any *yoginīs* or *ḍākinīs* demands an independent investigation. The recently found sources are rather in favour of this hypothesis.
- 15 SV 4.14abf: *jvalatpitṛvanaṁ ramyaṁ vīravīreśibhir vṛtam // vīravetālasiddhaiś ca mahāmāmsasya vikrayam ... etc.* '[If one sees] the pleasing, shining forest of the ancestors, [sees himself] being surrounded by heros and heroines, or by heroes, vetālas and siddhas, or selling human flesh ...'
- 16 SV 10.9a: *ramante tatra vai vīrā nārībhiḥ saha līlayā /*. 'The hero will enjoy there playfully with women.'
- 17 SV 10.116-118: *yadūrdhve caiva sauvarṇaṁ pātālaṁ parikīrtitam / tatra vasaty asau devo hāṭakaḥ parameśvaraḥ // ... / siddhairudragaṇair divyair bhaginīmātibhir vṛtaḥ // yoginīyogakanyābhī rudraiś caiva sakanyakaiḥ /*. 'On the top of that is situated what is called the Golden Underword. There lives god Haṭaka Parameśvara. ... He is surrounded by *siddhas*, *rudras* and *gaṇas*, as well as by sisters and mothers, by *yoginīs* and *yogic* maidens, *rudras* and their girls.' Parallel in TS 10.137-140. Both passages appear to be examples of further development of NG 5.15f. For other examples of the textual borrowings from SV to TS, see Sanderson (2001). For the full representation of all parallel passages in selected tantric corpus, see Serbaeva, *forthc*.
- 18 Sanderson (1986, p. 186), n. 83: JY 1, f. 191v3: *hāṭakākhyam (i. e. kulasrotah) sada jñeyam miśram vāme 'pi dakṣiṇe / kvacid anyeṣv api (vi)jñeyam kulaśāsanataparaiḥ //*. 'The doctrine of Haṭaka should be known as the mixture of Vāma and Dakṣiṇa. It is also known as Kulaśāsana, and by other names.'
- 19 SV 10.605cd: *pūjitā yoginīvrndaiḥ sādhakaiḥ surakinnaraiḥ //*. '[Goddess] is worshiped by the multitude of *yoginīs*, practitioners, gods and *kinnaras*.'
- 20 SV 10.1169-1171 and 11.42f.
- 21 These *mudrās* reflect the list of the objects held by Svacchandabhairava in ch. 2.
- 22 SV 15.32b-37: *pūjāgnijapayuktasya dhyānayuktasya mantriṇaḥ // samayācārayuktasya kālāṁśakavidaḥ priye / kriyopetasya deveśi yoginyas tu varapradāḥ // darśayanti mahādhvānaṁ nānābhogasamanvitam / girirājasya deveśi yaṁ gatvā phalam āsnute // bhairaveṇa samājñaptāḥ śaktayas tu varānane / anyās ca siddhīr vividhā adhamā madhyamottamāḥ // ... / evaṁ saṁkṣepataḥ proktaṁ melakaṁ tu varānane // satatābhyaśayogena dadate carukaṁ svakam / yasya samprāśanād devi vīreśasadrśo bhavet //*. 'O goddess, the *yoginīs* give boons to those masters of *mantras* who are joined with the *japa*, fire[-offerings] and *pūjā*, who are joined in *dhyāna*, who respect the regulations of conduct, and who are aware of the time and the clans [*aṁśa*. The last 2 are the time-space conditions of meeting the *yoginīs* of the particular family.], and are endowed with *kriyā*. They [the *yoginīs*] will show the great way, having various pleasures. O goddess of the king of the mountains, one who follows it will get

the fruit. O beautiful, he will have the power to be directed by Bhairava and will have various other supernatural capacities, common, middle and supreme. . . . Melaka has been briefly explained. To the one who always does the yogic exercises he [Bhairava] will give his own *caru* [transgressive transformative substance]. Having partaken of it, he [the practitioner] will become like the leader of heroes [i.e. Bhairava].'

- 23 The corresponding passages are translated in my habilitation, work in progress.
- 24 VT mentions *yoginīs* only once: in v. 321ab they are represented as the protectors of the doctrine: *yoginībhiḥ sadā bhraṣṭāḥ kathyante dharmalopakāḥ*. However, the four sisters (among them or of Tumburu: Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājītā) are included into the majority of the later lists of *yoginī*-s. Serbaeva (2006a, App.10).
- 25 Thanks to Prof Alexis Sanderson, I was able to work with Ch. 53, 54 and 56 of this 12000-śloka text.
- 26 BY 56.90-101, esp. 99-101ab: *yoginīśahitaṃ nāṭyaṃ vīrabhāvālambanam / uttiṣṭhā satvayuktasya sarvāvasthāgatasya ca // vitarāgasvarūpasya śmaśāne kṛīḍatas tathā / māsam ekam mahākṛīḍā dhyānayuktaḥ karoti yaḥ // sa bhaved yoginām yogi saprapaṇcam alakṣaṇaiḥ /*. 'To dance with *yoginīs* is the foundation of the "heroic mood." [Namely, it helps with] being joined with the substance, which is "standing" [ref. to *kuṇḍalini*], and going to every [possible] state. He whose nature is being free from passion, plays at cremation ground. One who will do this "great play" for a month while joined in *dhyāna*, he will become the *yogin* of the *yogis* [in the state of] expansion without distinguishing marks.'
- 27 A woman can be also a *guru* in Krama. See Serbaeva (2006b).
- 28 In v. 166. On the *āsana*-s and their unimportance in Śaiva *yoga* see Vasudeva (2004, p. 401).
- 29 *Utkrānti* and *saṃkrānti*, in TS 24.296f and MVT 21.9-19.
- 30 Various types of *yoga* in this text were analysed by Somdev Vasudeva (2004).
- 31 Rastogi (1993, pp. 247-80), writes that the definition of *yoga* became that of *samādhi* already in early commentaries on YS.
- 32 Vasudeva (2004, p. 370f).
- 33 Sanderson (2005b, pp. 179-80) the Kāpālikas perceived *samādhi* as possession, according to the commentary of Jñānaśivācārya, writing in the far south in the sixteenth century (*sāmyasamāveśavādaḥ*. . .).
- 34 The *yoginīs* in the *Jayadrathayāmala* is the subject of my book (in preparation).
- 35 KSb 2.12; 4.31b; TS 6.176-178a; DPś 1.14f; 2.21a; YSP 9.4-5 and esp. 42: *vratālopa na kartavyaṃ gotrād anyatra suvrate / mahākṛṣṭivirodho'pi devīnām śāsane sthitaḥ //*; VS 1.6a.
- 36 ŚSS 3.1-17; SYM 2; MM and comm.; NT 19-20; KT 8.103, 107f; 10.121b-123a; the rule-breaker will be eaten by *śākinīs* in 11.92-95a; YSP 8.38b-40a: . . . *māsenā tu mahāyogī yoginīyāḥ paśyateccchayā / tair vṛtas tu caruṃ kṛtvā trailokye vicaret kṣaṇāt / sarvajñāḥ sarvakartā ca sṛṣṭisaṃhārakāraḥ / yoginīnām pade devī hartā kartā ca jāyate /*. 'Within a month the great *yogin* will be able to see the *yoginīs* at will. Encircled by them, having made the *caru*, he will go in [all] three worlds at that very moment. Omniscient, able to do whatever, he performs creation and destruction. O goddess, he will achieve the level of the *yoginīs* as for destroying and creating.' Rules are explained in TS 9.540-560 and in Tā 15.552c-557a.

- 37 KT 10.122a, 11.25; TS 1.482b; 16.219: *nāsau dīrghāyuso devi na cāpi sukhabhāg bhavet / mahāghorapradeśeṣu piḍyate yogibhiḥ sadā* // ‘He will not live long and will not be happy. He will always be tortured by the yoginīs in very terrible places’; 28.101-102, etc. ‘Beloved of yoginīs’ appears in TS 6.182, 8.14a; DPś 4.33, 6.33b, 7.57a, etc.
- 38 Rastogi (1987), states that *yoginībhūh* is a typical Kula concept. When parents unite identifying themselves with Śiva and Śakti and then give birth to progeny, the child, who is Śiva-incarnate and the instant repository of knowledge is designated as *yoginībhūh*, see TĀ 29.162-163. This state signifies *bhairavahood*, the state of absoluteness transmissible to progeny. The title of ‘born of yoginī’ is also attributed to Abhinavagupta himself, see Sanderson (2005a). The same logic exists for the feminine: among the *yoginīs* the highest are those who are born of *yoginīs*: TS 16.307-311. JY 4, f.224v1, em. Sanderson: *yoginīgarbhasaṃbhūto (saṃbhūto em.: saṃbhūtā A) rudrāśo malavarjitaḥ* // *śaktipātāt prabuddhaś ca (prabuddhaś ca conj. : prabuddhasya A) matprasādāc ca bhairavi* /; TS 9.37b, 28.94 and 96.
- 39 TS 16; BY 56; DPś 5.54b: *strīveśadhārī bhūtvāsau nagno vāsau mahāmatīḥ* / ‘The intelligent one should put women’s clothes or go naked.’; JY 4 f.225r1-2; TS 15.78b; more ancient *vratas* required identification with Rudra, NG f.49r1-2(3.30-34b), see Sanderson (2005b, pp. 208–09. The concept of *kula* or family deserves a special study. The *kula* of the practitioner is defined by his initiation and the *yoginī*-family on which the flower has fallen defines not only the type of women to look for, but also the more general type of post-initiation practice. The initiated is bound not to go against his ‘family’. See also NS f.6r: *labdhalakṣo yadā yogī yoginikulaṇīcaye / tadā jñeyapadam bhāti jṛmbhate śaktivigrahaḥ* /... ‘When the *yoginī* obtains the sign of [his] *yoginī*-clan, then the state of knowledge [will manifest] and the body of śakti will expand.’
- 40 TS 1.458f, ch. 2, 16.1-49; KS; KT 15.97b states that *mantras* given by women or received in dreams are automatically valid; KMT 14-16; TS 2. Serbaeva (2006a, ch. 3), App. 6.3, 6.4, 6.8 and 6.9.
- 41 YSP 4.57-58; 5.5, 25-26, 29-33; 8.55-56; KSb 1.64-68; 2.18, 124; 4.98; 5.38; 7.9. The list of *siddhis*: TS 16.50f, 4.51; 15.35.
- 42 TS 16.135-136: *sā siddhis tat param sthānam tadarthe golakādaram / eteṣv evaṃ narāḥ kecit kuleṣv evaṃvidhā yadā* // *tadaiva tat padam āpnoti vīrabhāvād anantaram* /, v. 143-144: *mātrmaṇḍalasaṃbodhāt saṃskārāt tapaso ’thavā* // *prāpnuvanti narāḥ kecit siddhim etām anuttamām* / (Parallel to SYM, f.67v6-68r1(28.41-42), ref. and ed. of Alexis Sanderson: *mātrmaṇḍalasaṃyogāt *saṃskāraj(em.: saṃskārā A) japato *pi vā(em.: mivā A) prāpnuvanti *narāḥ (corr.: narā A) *siddhīr (conj.: siddhīr A) *caruṇā prāsītana (em.: yatanāprāsītana A) vā*)). TS 16.171a: *puruṣaḥ sarvamātrjñas tad eva phalam āpnuyāt* / In YSP 6.47a Bhairava proclaims a doctrine especially for women: *śṛṇu devi mahāprājñe jñānam te kathayāmy aham / nārīnām ca viśeṣeṇa narāṇām yuktacetasaṃ* / For the objections to seeing these traditions as those of women or as practiced by women, see Serbaeva (2006b).
- 43 TS 16.56cd-57ab, 162-171. See Serbaeva (2006a, 2.5 and App. 5.4).
- 44 Born from ‘perfected’ parents: *samastasamayopetāḥ saṃpūrṇajñānadehajāḥ* in 162a.
- 45 TS 16.170: *yogena tapasā vāpi svamantrasya ca darśanāt / yānti yogeśvarīsaṃsthām tathā janmapaśor balāt* // ‘The *yoginīs* go to the state of Yogeśvarī by yoga, tapas, seeing one’s own *mantra*, killing a [1, 3, 5, 7] *janma*-victim.’

- 46 RT 1.22.330-334.
- 47 TS 7.97-99, where the sacrifice of a victim gives the ability to fly. The number of rebirths of the victims (and thus their transformative potential) can be recognised with the help of particular physical signs on their bodies. A prayer to *yoginīs* who help *sādhakas* to recognise the *paśu* is also included, v. 107f.
- 48 Composed in Kashmir between about CE 700-850, see Sanderson (2004, p. 273f). For other *yogas* in NT see Brunner (1974).
- 49 NT 20.4-7. A very similar passage can be seen in YSP 1.21-24.
- 50 NT 20.7-8.
- 51 NT 20.9-10. YSP 6.10b-43 states that the victims (*paśus*) are born only to be sacrificed and when sacrificed, they immediately change their state. Woman should not be sacrificed, as this destroys *siddhis*, according to YSP 6.99-100.
- 52 NT 20.18-19ab.
- 53 NT 20.19cd-21. It can be compared to the most intense *śaktipāta*, see Tā 1.43 (comm.).
- 54 Ibid., NT 20.24cd-27 and comm.
- 55 For details of such practice see Silburn (1983).
- 56 NT 20.31-32 and comm.
- 57 Ibid., v. 38-40 and comm.
- 58 See Serbaeva (2006a, ch. 3 and 4) for details.
- 59 Serbaeva (2006a, ch. 4).
- 60 Sanderson (2005b).
- 61 Das (1981), Dehejia (1986), Sanderson (1990).
- 62 Lorenzen (1991) provides the following passages on Kāpālikas: p. 13: 'The Prakrit *Gāthāsaptasatī* is traditionally ascribed to the first century A.D. Sātavāhana king Hāla but was probably compiled sometime between the third and fifth centuries. It contains a verse describing a "new" female Kāpālikā, who incessantly besmears herself with ashes from the funeral pyre of her lover.' Lorenzen notes, pp. 17-18, that a tantric ascetic from South India is described in great detail in *Kādambarī*. 'This Draviḍa-dhārmika superintends a temple of Caṇḍikā located on the road to Ujjayin. He had written down the doctrine of Mahākālā, which is the ancient teaching of the Mahāpāśupatas [...]. He had many times employed woman-subduing powders on old female ascetics from foreign countries who stayed (at the temple).' Lorenzen cites *Caṇḍakauśika* of Kṣeśmīśvara where there is a passage describing the *siddhis* of a *kāpālika*: 'The Kāpālika held several magical powers: control over a *vetāla* and a thunderbolt (*vajra*); possession of magical pills, ointments and foot salve; command over Daitya women; and knowledge of the elixir of life (*rasāyana*) and alchemy (*dhātuvāda*).', pp. 57-59. However, these examples can be seen only as indirect evidence only that *yoginīs* were known to the Kāpālikas.
- 63 Sanderson links the practice described in MMadh and its commentary with SYM and JY, *ṣaṭka* 2, in his letter to F. Grimal.
- 64 See Serbaeva (2006a, ch. 4) for details.
- 65 Wood (1956, p. 176).